

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 IO-13 ISO-00 NEA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 STR-07 TRSE-00  
LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00  
INRE-00 SIG-03 OIC-02 /118 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPE:TERUSSELL:AP  
APPROVED BY EUR:RDVINE  
EUR/RPE:RMBEAUDRY  
NEA/IAI:CHILL  
AF/E:LJANOWSKI  
AF/I:RGHOUDEK  
AF/S:LRMACFARLANE  
AF/C:LDJUNIOR

-----097973 130143Z /64

O P 122340Z SEP 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:EEC, US, GW

SUBJECT:US-EC PRESIDENCY DIALOGUE: US INPUT FOR FOREIGN  
MINISTERS' POLITICAL COOPERATION MEETING, BONN SEPTEMBER  
14, 1978

REFS: A) BONN 16445; B) BONN 16425

1. DEPARTMENT APPRECIATES USEFUL READOUT ON POLITICAL  
DIRECTORS' MEETING SEPTEMBER 5-6 IN CABLES CITED REF B.
2. WITH REGARD TO FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AND AGENDA  
SUPPLIED REF A, EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING  
US VIEWS TO THE FRG IN ITS EC PRESIDENCY CAPACITY.
3. MIDDLE EAST. WE WILL BRIEF THE EC ON A PRIORITY BASIS  
ON THE CAMP DAVID SUMMIT OUTCOME. THIS WILL BE DONE EITHER  
VIA A BRIEFING OF FRG AMBASSADOR VON STADEN IN HIS EC  
PRESIDENCY ROLE OR IN SOME OTHER MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY  
MANNER.
4. KENYA AFTER KENYATTA. IT APPEARS THAT INTERIM  
PRESIDENT MOI WILL EASILY EMERGE AS THE SOLE NOMINEE OF  
KANU AND THE KENYAN PARLIAMENT TO REPLACE KENYATTA. ALL  
INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE KENYATTA FAMILY WILL NOT CONTEST  
THE NOMINATION AND THAT MOI'S ELEVATION TO THE PRESIDENCY

WILL OCCUR PEACEFULLY.  
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MOI'S SELECTION WILL INSURE THAT THE MAIN THEMES OF KENYAN  
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICY WILL REMAIN CONSTANT FOR THE  
SHORT RUN. KENYA WILL LIKELY HAVE A MORE ACTIVE FOREIGN  
POLICY UNDER MOI, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN IN HIS  
LATTER YEARS KENYATTA ALMOST TOTALLY IGNORED FOREIGN  
POLICY. THE LONGER TERM PROSPECTS FOR THE CONTINUED  
STABILITY AND ORDER WHICH KENYATTA'S UNIQUE PRESENCE AND  
POWER BROUGHT TO KENYA ARE LESS CERTAIN. KENYA FACES  
DIFFICULT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AND  
MOI'S ABILITY TO HANDLE SENSITIVE ISSUES SUCH AS  
CORRUPTION AND KIKUYU DOMINANCE IS YET UNKNOWN.

5. POST OAU SUMMIT PERSPECTIVES. THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED  
OAU SUMMIT IN KHARTOUM -- CLEARLY DOMINATED BY A WELL-  
ORGANIZED "MODERATE" MAJORITY -- SIDE-STEPPED MOST  
CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN A SERIES OF RESOLUTIONS CONTAINING  
TRADITIONAL OAU COMPROMISE LANGUAGE. WE EXPECT THIS MOOD  
OF PRAGMATISM TO PREVAIL OVER THE COMING MONTHS BARRING  
THE COLLAPSE OF WESTERN INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

-- NO PROGRESS WAS MADE TOWARD STRENGTHENING OR INSTITU-

TIONALIZING THE OAU'S ABILITY TO MUTE INTER-AFRICAN  
CONFLICT.

-- ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, OAU RESOLUTIONS KEPT THE WAY OPEN  
FOR CONTINUED NEGOTIATION ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. ON THE  
MID EAST, THE OAU REGISTERED IMPLICIT SUPPORT FOR THE SADAT  
PEACE EFFORT AND AGAIN AVOIDED DIRECT LINKAGE BETWEEN  
ZIONISM AND RACISM.

-- IN SUM, THE OAU IS LIKELY TO REMAIN BADLY DIVIDED  
ALONG IDEOLOGICAL LINES DESPITE THE RECENT ASCENDENCY OF  
ITS MAINLY PRAGMATIC MAJORITY. GIVEN THESE ABIDING  
DIVISIONS, IT IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE EFFECTIVE ACTION TO  
RESOLVE PERSISTENT TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS IN THE HORN,  
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WESTERN SAHARA AND ELSEWHERE ON THE CONTINENT.

6. ANGOLA/ZAIRE UPDATE. WE ARE IMPRESSED AND ENCOURAGED  
BY THE CONSIDERABLE STEPS ANGOLA AND ZAIRE HAVE TAKEN  
TOWARD RAPPROCHEMENT, CULMINATING IN THE RECENT NETO  
VISIT TO KINSHASA. AT THE SAME TIME, WE NOTE THAT BOTH  
GOVERNMENTS ARE MAKING AN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN AN AIR OF  
REALISM RATHER THAN EUPHORIA, IN VIEW OF THE FORMIDABLE  
PROBLEMS NEEDING TO BE OVERCOME.

-- OF THE THREE PROVISIONS OF THE BRAZZAVILLE ACCORD  
BETWEEN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE -- VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF  
REFUGEES, ESTABLISHMENT OF A BORDER VERIFICATION COMMISSION,  
AND REOPENING OF THE BENGUELA RAILROAD -- EVENTS APPEAR TO  
BE MOVING MOST RAPIDLY WITH REGARD TO REFUGEES, WITH  
REPORTS THAT THOUSANDS OF ZAIRIAN REFUGEES ARE RETURNING  
FROM ANGOLA TO SHABA PROVINCE.

-- THE MCHENRY TRIP TO LUANDA IN JUNE WAS HIGHLY USEFUL,  
AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUED CONSULTATIONS WITH THE  
ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT ON MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. AT THE  
SAME TIME, WE HAVE NO PLANS FOR DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION  
AT PRESENT, IN VIEW OF THE CONTINUING MASSIVE CUBAN  
MILITARY PRESENCE IN ANGOLA, AS WELL AS OUR DOUBTS ABOUT  
THE REPRESENTATIVE NATURE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN LUANDA.

7. MEASURES TO PROD SOUTH AFRICA TO EASE APARTHEID. U.S.  
FULLY SUPPORTS EFFORTS TO IMPRESS SOUTH AFRICA ON THE NEED  
TO EASE APARTHEID. BEYOND THIS, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE IT  
ESSENTIAL THAT THERE BE A FOCUS NOT ONLY ON SUPERFICIAL  
ASPECTS OF APARTHEID, COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS "PETTY  
APARTHEID," BUT ON FUNDAMENTAL PREMISES WHICH UNDERLIE  
THE SAG RACIAL POLICIES. FOR THAT REASON, VICE PRESIDENT  
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MONDALE TOLD PM VORSTER IN MAY 1977 THAT WE FEEL IT ESSENTIAL THAT SOUTH AFRICA MOVE AWAY FROM APARTHEID AND TOWARD A PROCESS IN WHICH ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, BLACK AND WHITE, CAN SHARE IN MAKING FUNDAMENTAL DECISIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA. WE HAVE NOT TO DATE DISCUSSED THIS KIND OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE.

-- WE BELIEVE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD SPEAK OUT ON IMMEDIATE ISSUES OF CONCERN. TWO SUCH ISSUES NOW ARE: THE IMPENDING DESTRUCTION OF THE CROSSROADS SQUATTER COMMUNITY NEAR CAPE TOWN, AND THE DETENTIONS ON SEPTEMBER 10-11 OF FRIENDS AND RELATIVES OF STEVE BIKO. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT OUR CONCERN ON BOTH THESE ISSUES. WE WOULD HOPE THAT EC MEMBERS MIGHT DO LIKEWISE.

-- WHILE WE DO NOT AT THIS TIME ENVISION ANY IMMEDIATE MEASURES BEYOND THOSE THE USG HAS ALREADY TAKEN TO DRIVE HOME OUR CONCERN RE SAG POLICIES, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA MAY ON SHORT NOTICE DEVELOP IN SUCH A WAY AS TO COMMAND THE ATTENTION OF AND POSSIBLE ACTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

-- THE UNITED STATES WOULD FAVOR, AND WOULD CONSIDER PARTICIPATING IN A JOINT DEMARCHE WITH EC ON POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETENTIONS WITHOUT CHARGES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS AND POLICIES IN THIS AREA ARE OF PROFOUND CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES. WE CONTINUE TO DEPLORE THE DETENTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS WITHOUT CHARGE OR RECOURSE TO TRIAL.

8. EC CODE OF CONDUCT ON SOUTH AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES HAS FOLLOWED WITH INTEREST THE EFFORTS OF THE EC 9 TO APPLY ITS CODE OF CONDUCT FOR FOREIGN COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE WOULD NOTE IN THIS CONNECTION THE RECENT EFFORTS OF

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REV. LEON SULLIVAN, WHOSE SIX PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN EXPANDED IN GREATER DETAIL, AND MODIFIED TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO BLACK TRADE UNIONS AND TO INCLUDE REGULAR REPORTING REQUIREMENTS. THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT FOREIGN FIRMS WHICH OPERATE IN SOUTH AFRICA CAN AND SHOULD ACT AS A FORCE FOR DESIRED CHANGE THROUGH THE ADOPTION OF ENLIGHTENED LABOR PRACTICES. IN

OUR VIEW, BOTH THE EC-9 AND SULLIVAN CODES CAN PLAY AN  
IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS PROCESS. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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